

sure that anyone who wanted to drive would receive an evaluation and have a fair chance to get a license.

Performing his duties required great diligence, patience, and compassion. Mr. McCall would sometimes make as many as 50 trips to a trainee's house, while preparing him or her for a test. In addition, he made himself available to help his students at all times including nights and weekends.

Dick McCall's attitude toward his job has been described as a one-man crusade to give people with disabilities an opportunity for equality and personal freedom. Mr. McCall recognized that the ability to drive brings with it the dignity of having a job or just being able to drive to the supermarket, library, or church. Dick McCall felt that, short of curing their disability, the greatest gift that he could give to these people was mobility and independence, and he worked tirelessly to help as many people as was humanly possible.

While Dick McCall is ending his career with the DMV, he is by no means retiring from public service. He has taken a job with the Easter Seals, where he will continue working with people with disabilities.

Too often, the work of people like Dick McCall goes unnoticed by society at large. However, the thousands of people whose lives have been touched by Dick McCall recognize the sacrifices that he has made in his life, and his work has earned him the nickname "Saint Richard." I would like to personally commend him for his ongoing career of public service. He is truly an inspiration to all those people who have been fortunate enough to know him, and I wish him only the best in his future endeavors.●

McCain-Feingold Campaign Finance Reform Legislation

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I rise today to announce my support for the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform legislation currently being considered by the Congress.

I am cosponsoring the McCain-Feingold bill because I believe this Congress must address the issue of campaign finance reform. The American public and the people in my State of North Dakota are demanding that we clean up the system and that we clean it up now. Day after day, they read another story in the newspaper about the ever-increasing, and often unregulated, money flowing into campaigns, all the while seeing a Congress that appears unable or unwilling to tackle the problem. The time has come for us to do the job we were sent here to do and enact meaningful, comprehensive reform.

Mr. President, the current system of electing Members of Congress is badly in need of reform. Elections are too long, too negative, and too expensive. Voter participation continues to drop to new lows, and far too often, the bulk

of the debate the American public sees takes place in 30-second attack ads. And the costs of running for office are exploding. The average Senate race in 1996 cost \$3.6 million. Twenty years ago, the average Senate race cost just \$609,100. The cost of a race for the House of Representatives has increased sixfold over the last 20 years, from \$99 million in 1976 to \$626 million in 1996.

Spending on Federal election campaigns increased to an estimated \$2.7 billion in the most recent election cycle, a threefold increase over campaign spending just 20 years ago, even after adjusting for inflation.

Even worse, the money is increasingly coming through channels designed to skirt the Federal Election Campaign Act. The use of soft money, which I call legalized cheating, has skyrocketed in the last 4 years. In the 1995-96 cycle, the two major parties spent \$263 million in soft money, compared with \$81 million in the 1993-94 cycle. That's an increase of 224 percent.

Now, these contributions often come in very large amounts, and are clearly intended to have an impact on Federal elections even as they are designed to snake around the laws that are supposed to regulate Federal elections. So we have large chunks of money entering the system in ways that are largely unlimited, unregulated, and undisclosed. No wonder the American people think the system is broken.

Just as our campaign law has been stretched to the breaking point in order to push more money into the system, the protections in current law have recently been handed a severe blow by the Supreme Court. As a result of a decision handed down last year, independent expenditures that aren't really independent can be spent and have a dramatic impact on elections without any notion of what the source of the money was.

These, and many other areas of campaign spending cry out for reform and this Congress must address it now.

McCain-Feingold is a strong step in the right direction, and I am pleased to serve as a cosponsor of the legislation, consistent with the changes the sponsors announced on May 22. It includes voluntary expenditure limits, with a variety of carrots and sticks to encourage candidates to comply. It tightens the definition of independent expenditure in ways that will help make sure the expenditures truly are independent. It will prohibit the national political parties from raising and spending soft money to influence Federal elections. And it makes a strong first step toward controlling soft money spent by outside groups on so-called issue advocacy.

This last point is important, Mr. President, so I want to take a moment to elaborate. As currently defined under FEC regulations, only communications which use such words as "vote for," "elect," "support," "defeat," "reject," or "Smith for Congress" are considered express advocacy which must be paid for with money

raised in compliance with Federal election law, that is, hard money.

This overly narrow definition of what constitutes express advocacy has created a giant loophole for attack ads. Simply by avoiding the magic words I mentioned above, corporations, unions, and other special interest groups can pay for brutal attack ads. Anyone who has seen some of these ads can tell they're intended to influence the outcome of Federal elections. And because they can be paid for with soft money, groups can raise money for them without limits, buy them in the millions of dollars, and never have to disclose what they're doing to the FEC.

This is a critical part of the soft money puzzle, Mr. President, and McCain-Feingold takes strong steps to remedy it. Far from limiting discussion of the issues as some of its critics would suggest, this provision simply says that if an ad is meant to influence a Federal election, it should be paid for with money raised under the purview of Federal election law. It's simple common sense, and it's a badly needed, and long overdue, reform.

Now, I admit, there are several provisions in the McCain-Feingold bill that I would write differently and that I hope we might change along the way. I'd like to add a provision that provides that the lowest television rate for political advertising will apply only to commercials which are at least 1-minute in length and in which the candidate appears 75 percent of the time. The 30-second political attack ad does little, if anything, to inform the public about the issues and advance the debate. And by appearing in the commercials, candidates will be more accountable for the ads and will likely be more responsible about their content. When selecting their leaders, the American people deserve better than a "hit and run" debate.

I would also like to add provisions with greater inducements for candidates to participate in the voluntary spending limit system, and with greater penalties if they choose not to, in order to virtually require people to adopt the limits for their campaigns. I would like to encourage more participation in the process by ordinary citizens by restoring an annual 100 percent tax credit for the first \$100 of contributions to congressional campaigns. And I would like to see some changes in the provisions dealing with political action committees as well.

But having said that, I think this is a worthy campaign finance reform proposal and I am going to fight hard for it. I want to get it passed, and get it signed by the President. The American people demand and deserve no less from us.●

RECENT BOMBINGS IN JERUSALEM

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, the news from Israel is painful to all who cherish the prophetic vision of peace in the Holy Land. On Sunday, September